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THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE,

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THE AMERICAN WOOL INTEREST.

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, OF OHIO,
BEFORE THE FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS,
AT CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 11, 1887.

IN obedience to a request of the Secretary of this Congress, I will endeavor to address you on "The American Wool Interest." This "interest" consists of that industry which produces American wool and woolen and worsted goods and mutton. The wool industry is one of the chief sources of a healthful article of food, and of an element in a chief form of clothing, and other woolen and worsted goods. The history of its introduction and gradual growth in the United States is interesting and instructive.¹ But for practical purposes only that portion of it is material which illustrates the result of legislation and surrounding conditions, so far as they may aid in ascertaining the effect of present and prospective legislation and conditions, and guide us in deciding what the future of this industry may require.

The wool interest is great in the number of persons to whom it gives employment, and in the capital invested in it; it is great by way of contrast with other industries and in its utilities. There is no phase of it which encourages evil or brings misery to our race; its mission is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to minister to real wants. In every age it

¹ See U. S. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 25, Third Session, 45th Congress, January 14, 1879. Special Report of Chief of Bureau of Statistics U. S. Treas. Dep't on Wool, etc., 1887.

has been regarded as honorable, and has engaged the attention of the great, the wise and the good. Kings and princes and presidents have given it their favor and patronage, and the approving smiles of Heaven have followed it through all the ages. Shepherds were the "witnesses of the wonder that accompanied the Saviour's birth." When the Star of Bethlehem shone upon the plains of Judea, as the shepherds watched their flocks by night, an angel proclaimed to *them* "good tidings of great joy," and the listening winds ushered in the era of peace on earth and good-will toward men.

It is in behalf of *this* industry—essential to the well-being of mankind, to the independence if not to the existence of every nation in peace and war—that I am to speak to you now. And the necessity for speaking and for action, prompt, energetic and effectual, grows out of the fact that this great industry is threatened, if not with total extinction, yet at least with such serious damage as to vastly reduce its present proportions, to avert its growth and progress, and thereby to cripple every other industry of the country. It is in danger of being transferred, with all its benefits and blessings, to alien hands and foreign lands.

In performing the duty assigned me, I will endeavor to show : I. The magnitude of the American wool interest. II. What this interest may, under proper fostering influences, become. III. What are the fostering influences requisite to enable American wool growers and manufacturers to supply all the wool and woolen and worsted goods we need, and enable our people in due time to become exporters of these fabrics. IV. Justice to American agriculturists and sound policy require legislation to give American wool growers and manufacturers the whole American market, so far and so fast as it is possible for them to supply it.

I. THE MAGNITUDE OF THE WOOL INTEREST.

It has not been possible to obtain reliable statistics for the *current* year as to *all* the details of this industry. I will, therefore, give such as are *official* for the years indicated.

The census of 1880 shows the number of male persons over twenty-one years of age in the United States to be 12,830,349, of whom 1,020,728 were flock owners, in addition to which were a large number of owners of sheep *ranches*. It is safe to say one-twelfth of all the voters of the United States are owners of sheep and are engaged in the production of wool and mutton.

For the year 1884 official statistics show :

Number of sheep in the United States,	50,626,626
Pounds of wool clip,	308,000 000
Value,	\$91,168,000
Pounds of raw wool imported,	87,703,931
Value,	\$13,593,299
Value of manufactures of wool imported,	51,484,872

The statistics of 1880 as to domestic woollen manufactures show:

Number of establishments,	2,689
Capital invested,	\$159,091,869
Hands employed,	161,557
Wages paid,	\$47,389,087
Value of product,	267,252,913
Cost of material used,	164,371,551
Value of sheep,	119,902,706

The President of the National Woolgrowers' Association, Hon. Columbus Delano, has estimated the value of lands, barns, sheds and equipments employed in the sheep industry at \$408,291,200. A prominent wool dealer¹ has said of the imports of woollen and worsted goods for the last fiscal year that they "amounted in all to \$44,000,000, at importers' valuation; but as recent investigations show that goods have been imported as low as thirty-two per cent. of their valuation, on the whole, it is safe to say that the undervaluations amounted to at least one-half, and \$80,000,000 would be nearer the amount imported. These goods would take at least 150,000,000 pounds of our domestic wool to make."

These statistics give with substantial accuracy the magnitude of "The American Wool Industry," in capital invested, the number of people employed therein, and the amount and value of the product. But even this is rendered more clear by way of *contrast* with other industries from statistics showing "the comparative value of some of the leading agricultural and mineral products of the United States for 1885" as follows:

<i>Articles.</i>	<i>Values.</i>
Corn,	\$635,675,000
Hay,	389,733,000
Wheat,	275,320,000
Cotton,	269,989,812
Oats,	179,632,000
Coal,	143,567,000
Gold and Silver,	83,401,000
Gold alone,	31,801,000
Silver alone,	51,600,000
Potatoes,	78,154,000
Wool,	77,000,000
Pig-iron,	64,714,400
Tobacco,	43,266,000

Thus the value of the wool product of 1885 was shown to have been greater than that of the mines of gold and silver combined; greater than that of pig-iron, about half as much as that of all our coal mines, nearly equal to our whole potato crop, and this *does not include the value of the mutton food produced*, which annually reaches many millions, reliable statistics of which I have not been able to obtain. The American wool interest includes not only the production of wool, but also the manufacture of woollen and worsted goods. Wool growing and wool manu-

¹ Edward A. Greene, of Philadelphia, published letter April 30, 1887, to Hon. Columbus Delano. Most of the statistics given in this address are taken from the learned, able and valuable special Report on Wool, etc., made by Hon. W. F. Switzler, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, U. S. Treas. Department, 1887.

facturing have prospered side by side under fostering legislation and by favorable conditions; they have suffered together by hostile legislation and adverse conditions. They are "one as the sea." The value of the wool manufactures as contrasted with that of other principal manufacturing industries is shown by the census of 1880 as follows:

Flouring and grist mill products,	\$505,185,712
Slaughtering and meat packing, ¹	303,562,413
Iron and steel,	296,557,685
Lumber, sawed or planed,	270,072,085
Wool manufactures, ²	267,252,913
Foundry and machine-shop products,	214,387,468
Cotton goods,	210,950,383
Clothing, men's,	200,584,460
Boots and shoes, ³	196,920,841
Sugar and molasses, refined,	155,484,915
Tobacco manufactures,	116,772,631
Leather, tanned,	113,384,336
Liquors, malt,	101,058,385
Carpentering,	94,152,139
Printing and publishing,	90,789,341
Furniture,	77,845,725
Leather, curried,	71,351,297
Agricultural implements,	68,640,486

The annual consumption of woollen manufactures in this country in 1880 amounted, at wholesale prices, to about \$303,000,000, of which \$267,000,000 were of domestic and \$36,000,000 of foreign production. The average consumption *per capita* in 1880 was about \$6.00, of which \$5.30, or 88.3 per cent., consisted of domestic, and only seventy cents, or 11.7 per cent., of foreign production.

The statistics of our exports show that substantially our people neither export wool nor manufactures thereof. Thus far we have either not been able, or have not been placed in a condition by legislation, to produce all we need for consumption.

Thus I have endeavored to show in part the magnitude of the American wool interest.

The American wool-grower and manufacturer of wool is more interested in the future than in the past; hence the *second* subject which requires our consideration is

II. WHAT MAY THE AMERICAN WOOL INTEREST BECOME?

The answer is: It may be made in the not very far distant future to supply all the wool and woollen and worsted goods our people need. This I proceed to show:

I. The present supply of sheep is inadequate to American wants.

It has been said that "it can be safely predicted that, owing to the *present overproduction of sheep caused by the high wool tariff*, there

¹ Not including retail butchering establishments.

² All classes: includes carpets, other than rag, felt goods, hosiery and knit goods, wool hats, woollen goods and worsted goods.

³ Including custom work and repairing.

may be little or no gain [of sheep in the United States] if not an actual loss in the near future."¹

"The present overproduction of sheep," indeed!

The 60,000,000 of people in the United States require for consumption annually about ten pounds of unwashed wool *per capita*, or 600,000,000 pounds. We now have 44,759,314 sheep producing about 260,000,000 pounds of wool in this year; for the fiscal year, 1887, we imported, raw wool, 114,038,080 pounds, and in woollen and worsted goods, probably, about 150,000,000.² Thus, while we are importing half the wool we use, are we to be informed that there is a "present *overproduction*?"

It is a grave error to assert that we have an "overproduction of sheep" for growing *any kind* of wool. We imported in the last fiscal year, clothing wool, 17,963,982 pounds; combing wool, 10,721,753 pounds, and so-called carpet wools, 85,352,295 pounds. We need 50,000,000 sheep more than we now have. There has been a recent reduction in the number, as there will be hereafter, because of the ruinous effect of the wool tariff of 1883.

The recent report of the Bureau of Statistics on Wool, etc., says (p. 41) Mr. Lynch, "is a recognized authority upon wool statistics." The foregoing figures of imports are from official statistics. The domestic wool clip is, perhaps, over-estimated. There is high authority for saying his estimates are sometimes erroneous; that "in 1880, for instance, they made *more wool* than was manufactured or handled. The value of wools imported in the fiscal year, 1887, was: Clothing wools, \$3,431,567; combing wools, \$2,528,560; carpet wool, \$10,464,352. Total, \$16,424,479." *It is practicable, under proper fostering influences, and within a few years at most, to raise all the sheep and so to produce substantially all the wool we need.* We have the lands ready, awaiting occupation for this purpose. On almost every farm of 160 acres in the United States, a flock of from forty to sixty sheep can be kept on pastures and with winter feed which would in a large measure go to waste. In many localities, *whole counties* can be utilized by sheep husbandry that will otherwise remain desolate and uninhabited forests. The mountain sides of Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, California, and other States, can be made to swarm with sheep, and thus *add to the value of lands*,

¹ Rep. Bureau Statistics on Wool, etc., 1887, p. 43.

² The Chicago *Wool Grower*, October 18, 1887, says: "The following table shows the total imports of all descriptions of wool for the last four years, and the American clip as reported by James Lynch:

PRODUCTION AND IMPORTS OF WOOL, POUNDS.					
IMPORTS.					
Year.	Clothing.	Combing.	Carpet.	Total.	American Clip.
1884	21,175,228	4,414,252	52,761,170	78,350,651	337,500,000
1885	11,475,889	2,780,751	56,330,530	70,596,170	320,600,000
1886	40,068,537	7,198,534	80,917,887	129,084,958	322,300,000
1887	17,963,982	10,721,753	85,352,295	114,038,030	
Average,	22,895,909	6,278,824	68,842,720	98,017,452	329,800,000

and relieve the burdens of taxation in those States. In many of the older States, whole counties are made up of *hilly lands*, worn by cultivation and the washing of rains until they can no longer be cultivated, but which have been made and can be kept fertile by sheep husbandry, and if not used for this purpose, must be turned out as waste. These lands can be devoted alternately to *this industry* and to *cultivation*, and thus permanently utilized.

So it has been said: "From Mexico to the British possessions, from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, an area of more than a thousand million acres (not including Alaska), has been for ages the home of countless numbers of the buffalo, of the antelope, and on the higher elevations, the Rocky Mountain sheep and the Rocky Mountain goat. Relatively few are the acres that do not supply some form of vegetation for herbivorous animals."¹ Here are millions of acres which can be used for no other purpose, and will be idle, uninhabited wastes unless so utilized.

And it has been demonstrated, theoretically and practically, that sheep husbandry, under proper conditions, can be made profitable in the so-called Southern States. In a report to Congress from the Department of Agriculture, in 1878, it is said: "The sixteen States lying between Delaware and Missouri, and between the Ohio River and the Gulf of Mexico, had a population, in 1870, of 13,877,615, and two-thirds of all engaged in occupations . . . were in some *rural* avocation. Nearly half this acreage, amounting to more than 200,000,000 acres, *is in wild pasturage* of more or less value for subsistence of farm stock, and much of the herbage is unutilized to-day. Sheep do well in these regions, which comprise all the climates and soils of the temperate zone."² The same conditions in a large measure remain, but with a capacity for sheep husbandry increased by the clearing of lands and the cultivation of grasses.

The Southern States are now largely engaged in sheep husbandry.³

The Tariff Commission of 1882 in their report said that "the first phase of the industry of wool production that arrests the attention of the

¹ Prof. J. R. Dodge, 1879, in Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 15, 3d Sess., 45th Cong. The hill lands in the older States, and much of the region here described, can be used for sheep, but not for cattle, because the *water supply* is limited, and sheep do with less water than cattle.

² Senate Ex. Doc. No. 25, 3d Sess., 45th Cong., January, 1879. The U. S. Consul at Buenos Ayres, in his report, June, 1887, says wool can be raised in "the desert portions of Texas and New Mexico and Arizona, whose arid soil and the general scarcity of water are a great drawback to their proper development." And he says "sheep will fill an industrial gap in these regions, which otherwise we can scarcely hope to find a filling for," and this would give us a new source of national wealth." See Rep. on Wool, etc., Bureau of Statistics, 1887, p. 39.

³ John Consalus, of Troy, N. Y., a prominent wool dealer, says in the *American Wool Reporter*, September 1, 1887: "Texas can grow as large an amount of wool as is now clipped in all our States and Territories, and under proper protection it will be done."

⁴ The statistics of 1887 show sheep now in the States as follows: Texas, 4,761,831; West Virginia, 593,666; North Carolina, 450,063; Missouri, 1,182,272; Virginia, 449,233; California, 6,069,698.

economist is its *general distribution*. Not a State in the Union, and in some of these, not a county, but has some portion of its wealth invested in wool production." And it has been shown that sheep husbandry is so diversified in its character, the kinds of wool produced, and in the varieties of sheep, that it can be successfully and profitably conducted, not only on cheap lands, *but, in some forms, in the older States and on high-priced lands*. Thus it has been said, "An important branch of this industry, and one that many have found quite profitable on lands worth \$100 an acre, is the raising of early lambs. New Jersey, lying between the two largest markets in the country, which feed a population of 2,000,000, is famed for the high price of all feeding material; and yet this branch of sheep husbandry flourishes there as in no other State in the country."¹

The vast prairies and plains of Texas, of the Territories, and some of the Western States, furnish grass on which mutton sheep can be grazed for a time, but they do not furnish grains to fatten them for market. The time is not far distant when these plains and prairies, with their cheap pasturage, will supply the older States with cheap mutton sheep, as they now do cattle, to be grazed on their tamer pastures and fattened on their grains and other food, thus blending the interests of different portions of the country, and yielding profit to both. There is no conflict, but mutual harmony and concurrence of interest, between all portions of the country. Enough has been said to show that we *have all the lands to produce all the sheep we need*. *We have the people ready for the work*. With all our industries, there are too many willing hands that are unemployed. If they can find a market which will pay a reasonable price for all the wool we need, they stand ready to produce it.

If wool growing be made as profitable as wheat raising, a portion of the labor devoted to that branch of agricultural industry will be transferred to sheep husbandry. In the fiscal year of 1887, there was an over-production of wheat of 101,971,940 bushels, which, for want of an adequate home market, we exported, thereby shipping abroad the fertility of our soil, never to be returned. Every bushel should have been consumed on American soil by persons engaged in manufacturing goods which we now import, fashioned from wool and cotton, and iron and steel, and wood, and crockery-clay, and glass-sand, and other materials.

Some objections have been urged to the *protection* of our wool industries, and to these I will give some attention.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

The Secretary of the Treasury in his Annual Report of December 6, 1886, in discussing the wool tariff of 1883, says: "The tax [tariff]

¹ See Senate Ex. Doc. No. 25, 3d Sess. 45th Cong., January, 1877, p. 11, which explains how the industry is conducted.

prevents our manufacture and export of competing woollens that require the use or *admixture* of non-American wools, and so restricts the home demand, thus making the export of our domestic woollens impossible." In other words (1), we cannot raise all the wool we need, but require foreign wools to mix with ours in the manufacture of domestic woollens, and (2), with free wool we could now export woollen goods. Here are two errors. He does not venture to say *what kinds* or *how much* foreign wool we need, or to inform us what classes of wool need the "admixture." The legislation of Congress commencing with the tariff act of March, 1867, makes three classes of wool, *clothing*, *combing* and *carpet* wools: clothing wool for the manufacture of cloth, combing wool for the manufacture of worsted goods,¹ including delaines, &c., and carpet wool for the manufacture of carpets.² The clothing wools were generally varieties of Merino, the combing wools, the *long wools*, and the carpet wool of coarse inferior qualities largely imported from Russia. Since 1867 machinery has been so improved that Merino wool can be combed and manufactured into worsteds.³ In 1867 carpet wools were used exclusively for the manufacture of carpets; now they are largely used—to the extent of probably 40,000,000 pounds annually—in making clothing goods.⁴ Thus the tariff acts of 1867 and of 1883, and their classifications, are no longer applicable to existing conditions. But the fact remains, that we need wool for the manufacture of *cloth*, for worsted goods, and for carpets. I believe it has never been suggested that we cannot raise all the wool we need for the manufacture of woollen cloth. It is equally certain that *we can raise all the combing wools we need*. The only pretense of any actual necessity for the importation of foreign wool is that some of the Australian wool when manufactured into *delaines*, will give a *lustre* which cannot be obtained from wool exclusively American. It is said that this lustre is "now required by the dictates of fashion." But it is also said that "it is only fashion, and *not usefulness* that requires" this lustre, and further that "it would require a few years of breeding (in America) to get

¹ Worsteds manufactures include "all wool and cotton warp, delaines, challis, bareges, imitation bareges, all wool and part wool reps and worsted yarns for carpets and hosiery." Rep. Bureau Statis.

² Wm. H. B. Thornton, of Chicago, in the *United States Economist and Dry Goods Reporter* of August 13, 1887, refers to "wools of a strictly carpet nature, such as Donskoi, Native Smyrna, Cordova, Valparaiso, Native South American, and wools of the like nature coming from Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Syria, or elsewhere.

³ See Rep. Bureau Statistics on Wool, &c., 1887, pp. 25, 41.

⁴ Mr. Bond, in an article published in the recent Report of the Bureau of Statistics on Wool, for 1887, p. 64, says the imports of carpet wool for 1887, "amounted to 81,504,477 pounds, the extreme amount of which I estimate could be used for clothing purposes would be about 8,800,000 pounds."

Theodore Justice, of Philadelphia, in a letter, May 5, 1886, says: "Out of the millions of pounds of carpet wool imported, it is on good authority admitted that 60 per cent. of them are used for clothing purposes, thereby taking the place of that much of the better bred American wools."

Edward A. Greene, of Philadelphia, in a published letter of May 2, 1887, says:

"The greatest wrong to our wool-growers, however, is the importation of carpet wools, of which 86,000,000 pounds were imported last year. Not over 30,000,000 pounds of these wools were used for carpets, the balance being used for clothing purposes.

the same effect as some of the Australian wools."¹ With every variety of soil, climate and environment, we can in a brief space of time raise wool to produce any lustre which can be obtained from foreign wool. But if this were not so, in a contest between American interests and the dictates of fashion without any utility or necessity, the folly of fashion must be made to yield. If any there be who will shine in foreign lustre, let them "pay dear, very dear, for their whistle," and soon the general fashion will outshine the foreign folly.

But, can we raise all the carpet wools we need? I answer, yes; all we need; soon, very soon. In this I am fortified by abundant evidence. The Bureau of Statistics, in a recent elaborate, able and instructive Report on Wool, &c., quotes from "Mr. James Lynch, of New York, a recognized authority upon wool statistics," this declaration: "It may be said that the coarse wools from any section may be used for carpets." The same report quotes with approval the statement of the profound and eminent statistician J. R. Dodge: "That the carpet wool product of the United States is almost exclusively the fleece of sheep of Mexican origin, which are raised chiefly in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and certain of the Territories of the mountain region of the country situated between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific slope." And Mr. Lynch furnishes the Bureau of Statistics the following statement of wool production in the United States for the year ended, June 30, 1883.

<i>Description.</i>	<i>Produced in United States, pounds.</i>	<i>Imported, Pounds.</i>
Clothing wool	233,000,000	11,546,530
Combing wool	65,000,000	1,373,114
Carpet wool	22,000,000	40,130,323 ²
Total	320,000,000	

Now, if in the fiscal year 1883 we produced 22,000,000 pounds of carpet wool, why can we not in the near future produce three or five or even ten times as much? There are undoubtedly localities in the mountain regions of some of the Territories where *Merinos* and *long wool sheep* may not thrive, but where the hardier varieties of the native Mexican sheep, or those partly so, may still be produced sufficiently to give us wool as coarse and inferior in other respects as the meanest Donskoi. Such sheep may be made in due time to utilize a region available for nothing else. A well informed authority says: "Even for carpet purposes one of the largest manufacturers [of carpets] claims our wool to be the best [for carpets] and worth more intrinsically, but the demand for cheap carpets in price (not in wear) prevents him using it." He then proceeds to say that even for the purpose of making the cheap and inferior carpets for such demand as there is for them, that: "Five

¹ Edward A. Greene, of Philadelphia, letter to Wm. Lawrence, May 2, 1887.

² See Report No. 42 of Joseph Nimmo, Jr., Chief Bureau of Statistics, Sept. 10, 1884, p. 544.

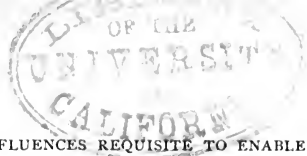
million pounds of this [inferior foreign carpet] wool (no more) may be a necessity, all the balance should be and can be raised here."¹

But if it be true, as has been claimed,² that the production of the cheapest classes of inferior carpet wools "would be unprofitable for the farmer to grow," because "the American farmer can produce wool with the same amount of cost and attention, yielding twice as many pounds of wool for each sheep" and realizing larger returns, then I would say let the *lowest grade* of inferior wool be imported for the *sole* purpose of making the *cheaper carpets*, and if necessary let it come with a nominal duty, if by any legislation its use can be so limited that it shall not be employed in debasing other goods with which to defraud American citizens. In view of all this it is safe to assert, that *we can soon produce all the clothing and combing wools we need*; that *no admixture of foreign wools* is required to give success to wool growing or wool manufacturing; that in all probability we can in a few years supply all the carpet wools we need, but in any event, the importation of but a comparatively small amount will be required. It is by no means true that free foreign wool would enable our manufacturers to export woollen goods. The cheaper labor in other countries gives them such an advantage, that we cannot compete with them in the markets of the world, except under Commercial Treaties which can as well secure foreign markets for protected wool and woollen goods as for free wool. Wool is but a small part of the cost of manufactured goods, and any temporary increase in price by a tariff cannot materially affect it. Probably 80 per cent. of the cost consists in the wages of labor, and it is *this* that affects prices. It will require some years to enable our manufacturers to supply our own wants—when that period arrives we can consider the question of exporting.

3. *American manufacturers can under proper fostering influences, and after a brief space of time, produce substantially all the woollen and worsted goods we require.* The skill which fabricates our present product is capable of all necessary expansion. And in the not far distant future, with commercial treaties with other American Republics, Brazil, Japan and some other nations, and with the much needed increase of the American Mercantile Marine, our manufacturers can become exporters of their fabrics, and take that high position in the commerce of the world for which American resources, enterprise, skill and industry so eminently qualify them. If we are true to ourselves, the day will soon dawn, when we will no longer be *dependents on foreign supplies*. *Thus the question is answered what may the American Wool Interest become?*

¹ Edward A. Greene, Philadelphia, April 30, 1887, letter to Columbus Delano, President National Wool Growers Association.

² Vol. II. Rep. Tariff Commission 1882, p. 2335.



III. WHAT ARE THE FOSTERING INFLUENCES REQUISITE TO ENABLE AMERICAN WOOL GROWERS AND MANUFACTURERS TO SUPPLY ALL THE WOOL AND WOOLEN AND WORSTED GOODS WE NEED, AND IN DUE TIME TO ENABLE OUR PEOPLE TO BECOME EXPORTERS OF THESE?

I answer unhesitatingly, that chief among them is, *protective legislation*, which will exclude the foreign product *so far and so fast* as we can supply what we need. Our true policy is, that Americans shall patronize and give employment to American rather than to foreign producers, and thereby secure employment for idle hands; give American wages for American services, enlarge our resources, and with them our own abundance, and no longer be dependent for the clothes we wear on foreign capital, labor and skill. I will not discuss the *general policy* of a protective tariff. That is not involved in the question whether we should give to American farmers the privilege of supplying all the wool we need. Our *lands are here* and cannot be removed; they must be rendered available in every possible form, or so far as they are not, they are idle and unproductive. Our capital is already invested, and our labor is here awaiting employment. The question is not whether we shall build up new industries generally, or create new plants—it is now whether we shall *utilize the plant we have in land*, and in order to do this, increase our plants of woollen and worsted manufactures.

And now I address myself to the question—Why should we demand protective legislation? This is an inquiry to which there are several answers.

I. *We cannot supply American wants with American wool, or woollen or worsted goods, without protection.* We will be driven from these industries by foreign competition. This may be proved by the *opinions* of those who have studied the subject, and by the logic of *facts*.

The chief of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, in his recent Report on Wool, says: "It is idle to talk about raising sheep in Europe, or *in this country*, to compete with South Africa or the Platte country or Australia. Our sheep farming must eventually be confined to small flocks of improved breeds, raised on farms where they require little or no extra labor. It has already come to this in Europe, and in the Eastern and Middle States, where lands are valuable, and will finally prevail in the West as the large ranches are divided up and settled. The conditions are entirely different in South Africa, Australia and South America, where laborers are at least semi-barbarians or peons, and the immense plains of cheap lands and torrid climate seem better adapted to sheep raising than other industries."¹ That is, without an adequate protective tariff, wool growing will not be remunerative, and so as an industry will perish. And in the same report he tells us that even under the present wool tariff of

¹ Report, p. 46.

1883 "it can safely be predicted that . . . there may be little or no gain in numbers [of sheep], if not an *actual loss* in the near future." Another thoroughly well-informed expert says: "In this country, where wages are high and the necessities of life and social conditions so widely different from the Old World, it is evident that competition without protection is impossible. Italy has her sheep attended by shepherds at two cents per day, their only food, black bread soaked in oil; India, Turkey, Persia, Russia, wages and modes of living on about the same scale; South America, Cape of Good Hope and Australia, but one step higher. As the natives in most of these countries attend the flocks, they require but little clothing, and they get but a mere pittance, barely sufficient to sustain life."¹

The *logic of facts* proves that without adequate protection we cannot render wool growing remunerative here. In Australia, South America and other countries "no provision is necessary for food and shelter in the winter season other than that provided by the bounty of nature."² They furnish an extent of territory practically unlimited with lands almost without cost; they have immense flocks of sheep, they can increase their number almost without limit, and supply the world with an abundance of every class and grade of wool.³ They can furnish wool at prices so low that they can defy competition and annihilate every flock in the United States, unless we shall be saved by protection. The report of the Tariff Commission shows that in 1882 Buenos Ayres unwashed clothing—equal to Ohio and Pennsylvania X wool—was quoted at 13.5 cents per pound, with cost of transportation to Boston 3.152 cents per pound.⁴ The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics shows that under the Tariff Act of

¹ John Consalus, Troy, N. Y., in the *American Wool Reporter*, September 1, 1887.

² In a report made to the State Department by Mr. O. M. Spencer, our Consul-General at Melbourne, gives the number of sheep in the Australian provinces, and says:

"The above figures sufficiently indicate the enormous pastoral wealth of Australia, while its capabilities for the multiplication of live-stock is practically without limit. Such is the mildness of the climate and the adaptation of the country for grazing purposes, that no provision is necessary for food and shelter during the winter season other than that provided by the bounty of nature. It is believed that Queensland alone 'could easily run' from thirty to forty million head of cattle without cultivating an acre of ground for fodder or spending a sixpence in the improvement of the natural pasturage."—*A Glance at Australia in 1886*.

³ The recent Report on Wool, etc., by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics gives something of the history and extent of the wool product in India, African colonies, Australia, the Argentine Republic, Russia, etc. It says:

"The countries that yield the largest surplus of wool for export are Russia, the Argentine Republic, South Africa and Australia. Their capacity for supplying the manufactures of the world seems to be ample. They have improved their sheep by crossing with the Merinos, and their wools, especially those of Australia and the Platte country, are among the finest in the world.

"These two last-named countries are much alike in their peculiar fitness for sheep raising, and as yet are not taxed to anything like their capacity. Australia alone is as large in area as the United States.

"In Australia the plains devoted to sheep raising are in the hands of comparatively a few, who have perpetual leases of immense tracts of government lands at low rates. Some of these tracts contain as much as 100,000 acres, so that the country bids fair to continue to be a sheep-raising section." Page 46.

On pages 225-227 are tables giving the number of sheep and the product of wool in every country of the world.

⁴ Report Tariff Commission of 1882. Vol. II., p. 2432.

1864 Buenos Ayrean wools "could be bought at the Rio de la Plata under twelve cents per pound, and come in under the three-cents duty."¹

The reduction of our wool produce by the Act of 1883 has increased the American demand for foreign wool, and but for this South American clothing wool could be produced for ten cents per pound and laid down in Boston for less than fifteen cents. Such wools cannot profitably be produced in our older States unwashed for less than about thirty cents per pound. The history of our own wool tariff and wool production shows that without adequate protection annihilation awaits our wool industry. Prior to the Act of March 2, 1867, Congress had failed to provide adequate protection to the wool industry.² When the tariff bill of 1828 was under consideration in the Senate the illustrious and far-seeing statesman, Thomas H. Benton, proposed to insert a clause laying a protective duty of ten per cent. per annum on wool, until it should amount to fifty per cent. *ad valorem*, and five per cent. afterward, until it should amount to seventy per cent.—a higher average rate of duty than has ever yet been enacted by Congress, and that, too, at a time when the *expense* and *delay* of *ocean transportation* were so great as in *themselves* to give American wool growers advantages and protection which no longer exist. His wisdom did not prevail. The result was that the wool industry languished for a long period. An accurate statistician has said: "In 1810, when the first census of products of industry was taken, the quantity of wool produced in the United States was returned at from thirteen to fourteen million pounds. In 1812 Mr. Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia—a trustworthy

¹ Report on Wool, etc., 1887, p. 60. In the same report, pages 228-231, are tables showing the prices of American wools from 1882 to 1886, and of foreign wools from 1867 to 1887.

The report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Commerce and Navigation of the United States for 1886-7, p. 883, shows the price of domestic wool from 1877 to 1887 inclusive, and on page 878 the price of imported wools from 1878 to 1887 inclusive. The average price of imported clothing wool at our custom-houses was 16.2 cents per pound.

At a meeting of Ohio wool growers, held January 12, 1886, an address to the Secretary of the Treasury was prepared by Columbus Delano, George L. Converse, J. D. Taylor, David Harpster and W. W. Cowden, which quotes Joseph Walworth, the veteran wool buyer of the Pacific Mills, as saying:

"A good deal of attention was given last year to the low price of wheat in England, about one dollar a bushel, and that *was the lowest price in London for a hundred years*. But the price of wool was equally low. I bought combing wool in England the past season one-quarter to one-half pence cheaper than I ever bought it before. The price fell pretty low in 1878, but not so low as it did in 1885. It is up to a penny to a penny-halfpenny now above the lowest price. But some of the shrewdest men of England think the future is to bring us very cheap wool. A manufacturer who began his career on wages of £1 a week, and is now worth over £3,000,000, told me that he expected to see wool eventually as cheap as cotton. In fact, you can buy Montevideo wool at seven pence in England to-day. Then, New Zealand is raising 60,000,000 pounds of splendid wool, and has introduced English mutton sheep and English grasses, and the improvement of steam communication has practically annexed that country to the mainland of England. The shipment of frozen mutton from New Zealand to London enables the sheep owners to produce wool at a lower cost by furnishing them a market for the flesh as well as the fleece. Even at the low prices of last year sheep farming has paid 90 per cent. in Australia and New Zealand, and as the market for mutton widens and competition increases there is no knowing how low the world may secure its wool in the future."

² The tariff rates under all acts of Congress are given in the Special Report of 1887 on Wool, etc., by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, pp. 118-120.

authority—computed it to be from twenty to twenty-two million pounds. During the last four census years the number of sheep and production of wool were as follows:

Year.	Number of Sheep.	Pounds of Wool.
1850	21,723,220	52,516,959
1860	22,471,275	60,264,913
1870	28,477,591	100,102,387 ¹

It will be seen that the increase in the number of sheep in the decade from 1850 to 1860 was only 748,055, equivalent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Then came the first and only just, sufficient, and, for the time it was in force, effectual, tariff act of March 2, 1867. This act classifies wools into clothing, combing and carpet wools. It imposed duties as follows:

"On clothing wools, unwashed; value 32 cents per lb. or less, 10 cents per lb. and 11 per cent. *ad valorem*. Value exceeding 32 cents per lb., 12 cents per lb. and 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Washed, double duty.

"On combing wools; value 32 cents or less per lb., 10 cents per lb. and 11 per cent. *ad valorem*. Value exceeding 32 cents per lb., 12 cents per lb. and 10 per cent. *ad valorem*.

"On carpet wools; value 12 cents per lb. or less, 3 cents per lb.; value over 12 cents per lb., 6 cents per lb.

"On all classes scoured, treble duty."

Under the operation of this law the wool industry prospered. The increase in the number of sheep from 1860 to 1870 amounted to 6,006,675, or 27 per cent.; from 1870 to 1880 the increase in number was 12,287,949, or about 44 per cent.;² and in 1884 our sheep numbered 50,360,243. Our wool product increased faster than our sheep; that is, "the average weight of fleece rose from $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds to 5 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ pounds [of washed wool], according to location."³ Thus the wool industry, for the

¹ Edward Young, Ph.D., formerly Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, in the May, 1881, number of *America*—a New York tariff periodical. The same figures for 1850, 1860 and 1870 appear in the Report of 1887 on Wool, p. 163, by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics.

² The Report of the Bureau of Statistics, made in 1887, on Wool, etc., page 163, states the number of sheep on farms in 1880 at 35,192,074; but, on page 71, the total number at 40,765,900. A former chief of the bureau stated the number of sheep in 1880 at 42,192,074, of which on farms 35,192,074, and on ranches 7,000,000.

³ The number of sheep and product of wool for the years specified were as follows:

Years.	Number of Sheep.	Product in Pounds.
1850	21,723,220	52,516,959
1860	22,471,275	60,264,913
1870	28,477,951	100,102,387
1875	33,783,600	
1876	35,935,300	
1877	35,804,200	
1878	35,740,500	
1879	38,123,800	232,500,000
1880	40,765,900	240,000,000
1881	43,569,899	272,000,000
1882	45,016,224	290,000,000
1883	49,237,291	300,000,000
1884	50,626,626	308,000,000
1885	50,360,243	302,000,000
1886	48,322,331	286,000,000
1887	44,759,314	

See Wool Rep. 1887, Bureau Statistics, pages 72, 73. Also Appendix, Table No. 3, page 16, and Table No. 20, page 174.

first time in our history, grew rapidly, was prosperous and remunerative under the act of March 2, 1867, and up to act of March 3, 1883.¹

This act reduces the duties to a scale as follows:

"Clothing wools, value, 30 cents per lb. or less, 10 cents per lb.; value, over 30 cents, 12 cents per lb.; washed wool, double duty.

"Combing wool, value, 30 cents per lb. or less, 10 cents per lb.; value, over 30 cents per lb., 12 cents per lb.

"Carpet wools, value, 12 cents per lb. or less, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb.; value, over 12 cents per lb., 5 cents per lb.

"All classes scoured, treble duty."

In addition to this reduction, the repeal of Sections 2907 and 2908 of the Revised Statutes, remitting charges, commissions, etc., made a further material reduction.²

But the reduction of duties on wool is not the only ruinous feature of the act of 1883.

"When that act was passed, the class of goods known as 'worsted' was made of long staple combing wool. The temptation to import goods under the low duty of the worsted clause has led to such improvements in machinery that any kind of wool can now be combed; so that many of the finest goods, made of short staple clothing wool, after the same has been combed, are called worsteds, and we see fine worsted yarn supplied to this country at a *lower duty* than would be charged on the *raw material* of which these goods are made. There is surely no protection to the wool grower in such a tariff as this. If the present irregular and unsatisfactory schedules on worsteds remain, there is little hope of higher prices for wool. The repeal of the worsted clause would then leave all worsteds to be classed under the woolen schedule, which is sufficiently protective, and would increase the scoured value of American wool. By checking excessive importations, the surplus revenue would be decreased, and, what is better, manufactured goods, made by American mills out of American wool, would then supply our home market. So long as we manufacture only one-half of the goods we use, it is folly to talk about seeking the markets of the world. We are at present suffering from the flooding of this country with overproduction of woolen goods, which are brought in under the present ill arrangement of the tariff. American mills are shutting down, and American wools are neglected and declining in price, while foreign mills are running day and night to supply this country with goods."³

¹ The prices of wools from 1817 to 1885 are shown in Statement No. 17 of Quarterly Report No. 3, Series 1885-6, of the Bureau of Statistics. The Quarterly Report No. 4, 1886-7, page 883, shows the price from 1877 to 1887. The New York prices for 1882, 1883 and 1884 are found more satisfactory in Statement No. 42 in regard to wool, etc., in the special report of the Bureau of Statistics made by Joseph Nimmo, Jr., Chief of Bureau, September 10, 1884, "on the operations of the tariff act of March 3, 1883, for the six months ending December 31, 1883, the average prices being as indicated below:

Year.	Fine, Cents.	Medium, Cents,	Coarse, Cents.
1882	42	43	31
1883	40 $\frac{3}{4}$	42	3:
1884, January	40	39	32

The New York and Philadelphia prices for different classes of wool from 1824 to 1887 are shown in the Special Report of 1887 on Wool, etc., by the Bureau of Statistics, Table No. 12, pages 110-118, and Table No. 69, page 228.

Immediately after the act of 1867 the paper money prices of wool declined, because of the increasing value of such money; because all previous war prices declined; because "large quantities of army clothing accumulated during the war were thrown upon the market at exceedingly low prices," and for other reasons shown in the Wool Report of 1887, pages 61, 62.

² See page 541, Nimmo's Report of September 10, 1884, before referred to in note.

³ Justice, Bateman & Co., Philadelphia Wool Dealers' Circular, November 1, 1887 Wool Rep., 1887, Bureau of Statistics, 42.

<i>Recapitulation by Groups.</i>	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.
New England States	1,384,888	1,283,809	1,249,328	1,237,085
Middle States.	3,792,675	3,498,425	3,083,594	2,968,032
Southern States	12,950,761	12,468,301	11,534,652	9,241,449
Western States	15,636,760	15,244,052	15,131,912	14,332,538
Pacific Coast	9,616,092	9,370,617	9,745,058	9,892,652
Territories.	7,245,450	8,495,939	7,577,787	7,087,558
Total United States	50,626,626	50,360,243	48,322,331	44,759,314

I have a table prepared by the eminent and accurate statistician of the Department of Agriculture¹ showing the number of sheep in each State and Territory for the years 1850, 1860, 1870, 1884 and 1887, and it fully verifies the facts I have stated. Then, again, there is no competition between the older States and Territories and Texas, because the whole product of all is about one-half the wool we consume.

It may be that Texas and the Territories can produce certain kinds of sheep, and certain kinds of wool cheaper than the older States. Our wants require precisely this variety. Vermont, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Michigan, and other central States produce "for certain purposes the best wool in the world. It has no equal anywhere, and in the Territories it has no pretended competitor."² And the President of the National Wool Growers' Association said to the House Committee of Ways and Means, at Washington, in 1884, that sheep from the older States, "when transferred to the Territories, yield a tender fibre, and although they [the sheep] are treated with the best care which intelligent husbandry can afford, yet it is impossible to bring their wool to such a standard that it will favorably compare with the fine wools of Ohio" and other States. And he said he was prepared with samples illustrating his statement.³

For many purposes wools from Texas and the Territories meet a demand which is not supplied by wool from the older States, and the wools from the older States fill a gap which Texas and the Territories cannot supply. And then, again, an "admixture" of both is for many purposes essential. Thus the production of wools of each portion of the country creates a demand for, and enables manufacturers to utilize, all. So Texas and the Territories can raise cheaper sheep, as they do cattle, to be shipped to the older States, grazed, fattened and put into market, supplying wool and mutton, with a perfect harmony of interests, mutually beneficial to each and to the whole country.

Under the tariff act of 1883 the "American Wool Interest" is doomed to decay—it is rapidly declining in the number of our sheep, the product

¹ Prof. J. R. Dodge.

² Columbus Delano, President of the National Wool Growers Convention, before the Committee of Ways and Means of the National House of Representatives, February 20, 1884.

³ He produced a letter from Justice, Bateman & Co., Philadelphia wool dealers, to him dated February 7, 1884, showing the same facts.

of our wool, and in the manufacture of worsted goods. It is not possible now to give the extent in the decline in manufactured products, but they are readily accessible. And to add to the depressing influences at work, we are threatened with the utter destruction of the wool industry by the total repeal of the wool tariff.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report of December 6, 1886, says: "I respectfully recommend to Congress . . . the immediate passage of an act simply and solely placing raw wool on the free list." And he adds that this "should be followed by . . . a compensating adjustment [reduction] of the duties on manufactured woollens." This would complete the ruin alike of the wool growing and wool manufacturing industries.

I now proceed to show that :

IV. JUSTICE TO THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURIST AND SOUND POLICY REQUIRE SUCH LEGISLATION AS WILL GIVE TO THEM THE EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGE OF SUPPLYING EVERY PRODUCT OF THE SOIL WHICH THE FOSTERING AID OF LAW WILL ENABLE THEM TO PRODUCE IN SUFFICIENT ABUNDANCE TO SUPPLY THE AMERICAN DEMAND.

And the same principle should be applied to manufactures.

Our legislation for many years has recognized this policy. The act of March 3, 1883, imposes duties as follows: "Animals, live, 20 per cent. *ad valorem*; beef and pork, 1 cent per pound; hams and bacon, 2 cents per pound; cheese, 4 cents per pound; butter, 4 cents per pound; lard, 2 cents per pound; wheat, 20 cents per bushel; oats, 10 cents per bushel; rice, cleaned, $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound; rice, uncleaned, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound; hay, \$2 per ton; hops, 8 cents per pound."

So a duty is imposed on sugar, wool, etc. If wool must come free, why shall not rice and sugar come free? Why not admit wheat and hops and oats from Canada free? If we must buy our wool from foreign producers, why not admit all agricultural products of the pauper labor of other countries? Let us suppose a case :

A farmer has 640 acres of land. Of this forty acres can be utilized in grazing sheep, but for no other purpose. A small part can be used in producing rice, and nothing else; another small part sugar and nothing else. On one part of it is water-power, which can be utilized for propelling a woollen factory. The residue is adapted to the production of cotton, wheat and corn, and hay and oats, and under one of its hills is coal to furnish heat for dwellings and run steam machinery. He has lands adapted for gardening, and sons and neighbors ready to make all these sources of wealth available. If he and other of his neighbors in like condition and in sufficient numbers utilize all these beneficent gifts of the Almighty, they recognize His wisdom in bestowing them and they become independent of all the world. They can supply all their wants in all that the earth can yield and in all that human skill can make. Their market is at their doors. The cost of carrying farm and garden and orchard to men in factories making cloth and clothing is so little that they realize the full results of their labor. Whatever may be the *scale of prices* adopted, whether higher or lower than in far distant places, they are so adjusted as to be fair and just to all. They

cannot produce coffee or tea or dye-stuffs, but they can furnish cheese and butter and bacon, and farm implements and other products, and send them abroad in exchange for the commodities I have named. Those who are engaged in cultivating lands and producing wool, and manufacturing cloth, and making gardens, and gathering fruit from orchards, give employment to carpenters in building houses, to butchers in preparing beef and mutton for use. All find employment; abundance and prosperity abound everywhere.

At this point, some *doctrinaire* invades the busy scene of this prosperity and says to these people thus engaged in peaceful industries: "You can buy wool cheaper in Australia; let your forty acres of sheep grazing land go to waste. You can buy rice cheaper in some foreign clime; let your rice lands go to waste. You can buy woolen goods cheaper; burn your woolen factories, let your water-power run to waste, and cease to work your coal mines. God made a mistake when He gave you these gifts. The *doctrinaire* was not taken into His counsel, and so the Almighty erred." They take his advice. The inevitable results follow. The men engaged in mining coal are out of employment—they go to raising wheat and corn and oats. The men engaged in raising wool, and in making cloth, and in building houses, are all out of employment—they go to raising wheat and corn and oats. The men engaged in gardening and raising fruits do the same. They are a community of farmers. They have abundance of wheat and corn and oats; but the abundance has caused a decline in the price, and it takes one bushel out of every three to carry their surplus three thousand miles to a foreign market, so that one-third of their labor is wasted. They no longer have a demand for the products of the garden, the dairy, nor for coal, and they cease to produce them because they cannot ship them abroad. The little that is left of their product of wheat and corn and oats will not enable them to buy the foreign wool, or woolen goods, or rice. Their gardens are in ruins, their water-power and sheep and rice lands are in waste, their resources are diminished, and poverty and desolation are the rewards, or rather punishments, which have befallen them for their folly in adopting the advice of the *doctrinaire*, instead of utilizing the gifts that God gave them.

The whole American Republic with its vast resources, its sixty million of people, is one great agricultural and manufacturing community whose condition is illustrated in what I have described. Wheat is now chief among the exports of our cereals. Our policy is to devote a portion of our lands now employed in the overproduction of wheat in raising wool, and to make a home market for all we produce in wheat and wool. We can do so. When we ship wheat abroad, it is used to feed men engaged in manufacturing products to return to us in payment. It is better to let the manufacturing be done here, let the manufacturers do their eating here, have their homes here, build houses here, give employment to carpenters, masons, butchers, grocers and gardeners here.

Our total product of wheat was about 450,000,000 bushels in the fiscal year of 1887, of which we exported 101,971,940 bushels, estimated at the New York Custom House of the value of \$90,716,481. The *price* of this as of the residue of the crop sold here, *is fixed by the price in England*. And the price *there* is fixed by the *price at which wheat can be supplied from the British East Indies*, where wheat is produced by men on wages of ten cents a day. Thus the American price is fixed by foreign pauper labor prices. It will not be ten years until the construction of railroads with English capital in the East Indies, will bring wheat from the interior to the sea-board so cheaply and in such abundance that the American market for wheat in Europe will be forever gone. As the wheat produced in the British East Indies increases, the price grows less; our wheat meets the competition and declines in price. The price of wheat in Chicago in the month of November was for several years as follows: 1880, \$1.05 per bushel; 1881, \$1.28; 1882, 94 cents; 1883, 95 cents; 1884, 72¼ cents; 1886, 73¼ cents; and in 1887, 72¼ cents, and each succeeding year will witness the downward tendency.

We send our wheat abroad to feed people while they produce wool and woolen goods, and iron and steel goods, to ship back to us in exchange. The American farmer must pay the heavy cost of shipping his bulky wheat to Europe; out of three bushels he ships abroad, one bushel is consumed in shipping two more to market. Thus he loses one-third of his product. The cost of shipping woolen goods and other manufactured products from Europe here, is comparatively small. The foreign producer sells his goods to us, in a market with prices not based on pauper labor, but on American labor wages.

Here, then, is the result: In the fiscal year 1887 we exported wheat of the value of \$90,716,481. We imported: Wool, custom-house value, \$16,424,479; manufactures of wool, \$44,902,718; manufactures of cotton, \$28,940,353; total of these, \$90,267,550.

Here is an *overproduction* of wheat which we ship to Europe in exchange for articles produced there, but which we can as well produce here. If five years ago a protective tariff had given American manufactures the *exclusive privilege* of making the *whole ninety millions and more* of these articles, and had also secured to American wool growers the privilege of producing all the wool we need, we would now have 100,000,000 of sheep—60,000,000 more than we now have; they would have used the land on which we raised a hundred million of overproduction in wheat; they would have yielded a return of over \$100,000,000, instead of the \$90,000,000 received for our wheat export; the fertility of our soil would have remained on our farms, instead of being shipped abroad; the price of our wheat would not as now be based on the price of pauper-labor competition in the East Indies, but equalized American prices, and employment would have been given to 150,000 men

who were in part idle and in part producing surplus wheat. These men thus employed would in turn have given employment to others—carpenters, masons, clothiers, butchers, bakers, printers, and last, but not least, school teachers and ministers of the gospel.

This arrangement, which places wool growers and manufacturers of wool and cotton on one side of the ocean, and the producers of wheat on the other, is unwise and burdensome. The cost of shipping the products from each side to the other is so much labor lost to the world. Place them side by side, and this labor and the commissions and profits and robberies of middle-men, and losses in transportation, will all be saved. Then each producer will receive as nearly as possible the full value of his labor and products.

Our true policy is to give to American wool growers the privilege of supplying all the wool we need. And why shall this not be so? The pretext for free wool is to “confer on the wage-earner of the United States the boon of untaxed clothing.”¹ The way to confer this boon is to cease to import wool or clothing; produce here all we need, and then neither wool nor clothing will pay any tariff tax.

The whole history of our industries proves that the *ultimate* effect of protection is to secure cheaper products. Even as to wool, the Tariff Commission of 1882, referring to the wool tariff of 1867, in their report say: ² “The wisdom which guided its promoters has found substantial vindication in the growth of sheep husbandry during the past fifteen years. . . . As a result of *augmented production* the price of wools has been reduced to the consumer, while at the same time the producer by *improving his stock* has been enabled to *realize as much money* from individual animals as he secured in former years.”³

If we destroy our wool industry foreign nations, finding no competition here, *will dictate prices*, and very soon we “will pay dear—very dear”—for our ruinous experiment. Even if this could not be so, yet all prices adjust themselves, each product to that of all others, and justice is secured for all, producer and consumer alike. And even if for a brief space of time “free wool” would give cheaper wool and cheaper clothing, the *means of buying* would be diminished for farmers and all consumers. The “boon” secured to them would be for a brief space of time, lower prices soon to be followed by *higher prices*, and through all the time *reduced means of payment*, and as to many—too many—no means at all.

It has been said that there has been a general decline in the prices of wheat and other products, as well as in wool. Yes, wheat has declined because of overproduction, and exports which fix the price on a foreign

¹ Report Secretary of Treasury, December 6, 1886, p. 57.

² Report, p. 28.

³ This is fully shown by prices of wool as given in the Report, 1887, of the Bureau of Statistics on Wool, etc. Table xii., pp. 110-118, and table lxix., p. 228.

rather than an American basis. Wool has declined in price without sufficient protection, because of foreign competition. There has been a decline in manufactured goods by reason of improvements in machinery and in skill, thus securing large product, less price, but greater profits and better wages.

But there has been no universal decline in prices. The wages of labor have justly increased, the prices of lands have increased; the price of wool has declined until its production is unremunerative, and this is the test which proves protection necessary.

If the *ultimate* effect of protection is to be cheaper wool, the inquiry may be made, How, then, will protection benefit the wool grower? The *first* effect of adequate protection of the wool industry will be to *increase the price*. This will stimulate the industry and increase the number of our sheep and wool product. Our breeds of sheep will be rapidly improved, so that a given number of sheep will produce largely more pounds of wool than ever before, and a reduced price per pound will hence yield a larger revenue and increased profits. In the near future sheep will, to a large extent, be made available both for wool production and mutton, and thus, even with reduced prices both of wool and mutton, they will yield a larger revenue and increased profits, thus growing cheaper wool and cheaper food for all our people.

The American farmer can fully supply the American market with every product of our soil and climate. Wool is one of them. If we surrender the privilege of supplying this in full measure we concede a principle which will demand the surrender of the privilege of supplying other of our products.

Let us unite in the demand that the laws shall be so made that Americans shall have the American market for all that Americans can supply.

Defenders of American Industry.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible.—*Last Annual Address, December, 1796.*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Every manufacturer encouraged in our country makes part of a market for provisions within ourselves, and saves so much money to the country as must otherwise be exported to pay for the manufactures he supplies.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

An extensive domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil is of the first consequence. It is, of all things, that which most effectually conduces to a flourishing state of agriculture.—*Report on Manufactures, Dec. 5, 1791.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

We must now place our manufacturers by the side of the agriculturist. . . . Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort.—*Letter to Benj. Austin, 1816.*

JAMES MADISON.

It will be worthy the just and provident care of Congress to make such further alterations in the tariff as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture which have been recently instituted and extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens.—*Special Message, May 23, 1809.*

JAMES MONROE.

Our manufactures require the systematic and fostering care of the government. . . . Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials.—*First Inaugural Address, March 5, 1817.*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The great interests of an agricultural, commercial and manufacturing nation are so linked in union together that no permanent cause of prosperity to one of them can operate without extending its influence to the others.—*Fourth Annual Message.*

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

When our manufactures are grown to a certain proportion, as they will under the fostering care of the government, . . . the farmer will find a ready market for his surplus produce, and, what is of almost equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply for all his wants.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Upon the success of our manufactures, as the handmaid of agriculture and commerce, depends in a great measure the independence of our country, and none can feel more sensibly than I do the necessity of encouraging them.—*Letter to Col. Patterson, May 17, 1823.*

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